/76 cont./
114 of the natives cannot be an excuse. There are few in America more easily accessible; the Uro are actually only a few hours by car from La Paz, the capital of Bolivia.

Material Culture

The brevity of my stay among the Uro and the small amount of leisure which I had outside of my linguistic investigations prevented me from making any important ethnographic observations on them. I also doubt that deeper inquiries would have been able to lead me to the discovery of sensational, or even /77/ new, 127 facts. The Uro have been "Aymarized" to a much higher degree than the Čipaya, and to this Aymara influence, doubtless a thousand years old, must be added that of the Spanish and of the Bolivian half-breeds. The village of Ancoaqui resembles, down to the last details, all the villages of the altiplano, and the Uro are not distinguishable, either in physical appearance or in dress, from the Aymara, their neighbors. If I consider the few 114 notes I took as worth publishing, it is because of the small amount of information that we possess on these Indians. I shall repeat again, perhaps in vain, the wish that a serious and well-trained ethnographer will want to devote several months of his /Fig. 21 appears here/ life to the study of the natives of the high plateau. If this is not done soon, our only remaining opportunity to know the great South American civilizations better will have disappeared.

342 [361] Dwellings. The village of Ancoaqui is made up of small square huts of "adobe," grouped around a quadrangular courtyard. I remember two houses with rounded corners, although this circumstance was not sufficiently accentuated to permit classifying them as huts of a round design (Pl. II, A /see p. 22/). The roofs of these habitations have only one real style: they are made of matting attached to stays which are also of totora, i.e., matting rolled up and solidly sewn together, replacing beams, which are rare and costly

/78/
342 in these desert regions. Matting hung before the entrance takes the place of a door.

[162] Figs. 21 and 22.—Huts temporarily occupied by Aymara herdsmen in the region of the Desaguadero (left bank). The roof is cupola shaped. These dwellings are made of clods of earth (drawn from a photograph).

35 41 An inventory of the furnishings and objects found in these huts can be quickly made. I took one; there were mats for sleeping, a clay cook stove, a sort of small enclosure containing burnable material, pottery of different shapes and sizes, a mortar, some spindles, balls of wool, textile fabric which was generally coarsely woven, sometimes some fishing equipment, and finally a broom. Passing into the courtyard one generally notices string, weirs, swords, a loom, and farming implements of European origin.

323 [439] The vessels are not locally produced. They are imported and /Fig. 22 appears here/ come from some indigenous industry of the altiplano. . The pots were shaped on a wheel and bear a

323 /78 cont./
000 potter's mark on the bottom (1). The mortars, or more exactly

323
114 1. My observations in this respect contradict those of one of the authors cited in

342

Fig. 22

323
114
[126] note 1, p. 3. As I was trying to make as complete a collection as possible at Ancoaqui, I gave special attention to all the objects which met my eyes, and the pottery did not seem to me to be of local fabrication. I also did not see any women working at making it, nor did I notice any of the signs which indicate the existence of a ceramic industry in the entire Indian village.

4/2 The mortars, or more exactly
the grindstones, are made of a flat or slightly concave stone, against which another, oval in form and polished by use, is rubbed. These mullers are sometimes semicircular; the pressure which the

188 cont. / They are as good and as bad
771 Catholics as the Aymara, and the little church constructed in the
171 center of the village is the type which is prevalent on the high plateau. The pagan practices to which they are given seem to be the same as those of the Aymara.

776 The Pačamama, or "Earth-mother," is their principal
[171] divinity, as everywhere else on the high plateau. They also spoke to me about mal'ku and samiri although I was not able to obtain anything specific or any details about the cult rendered them. I noticed on the wall near the entry of all the huts a spot
[782] of blood, a reminder of the sacrifice which had been made to
342 the local spirit at the moment when the house was covered with its roof. A pile of potatoes which had just been grubbed up was
[782] surmounted with a straw cross, a bottle of alcohol, and some coca leaves; these were, no doubt, offerings made to the Pačamama.

782 An old Indian man dictated to me several of the prayers
539 addressed to this divinity on different occasions. She is spoken of as mal'ku, i.e., "chief," as in Chipaya. Here are the prayers:

Samtña Mal'kwa	pičnača	čal'tama.
Holy Divinity	come	let us offer up libation.

Tiča	ti koka	samtña	tača.
Here is	this coca	Holy One	I will give.

K^{w}iškina	koka	taki.
Potato	coca	I give.

Xuala (ρ)	tača	Samtña	Mal'ku.
Llama	I will give	Holy	Divinity.

773 Mythology. I was able to gather fragments of an old
[171] myth at Ancoaqui, of which I possess a more complete version which was narrated by the Čipaya. "In former times there was

~~Plate II~~ I

342

A. Round house.

B. Woman sewing.

291
302
286

[End Plate I]

½ [Plate I accompanied a different article not dealing with the Uru--Analyst]

/121 cont./

621 616 614 not believe that taxata and tuanta are clans, at least they could not have been in the beginning, or the Indians would not have compared them with the Aymara saya, which each contain a large number of clans. Another consideration prevents me from accepting this comparison. The part of the village called tuanta actually includes an area known under the name of warta-ayl'u, southern clan, somewhat to the side of the rest of the agglomeration. The inhabitants of warta ayl'u participate in the festivals and solemnities of the saya tuanta and are under its alcalde. Their individuality [368] is only revealed in their tendency to stay together and, a significant detail, by the presence of a special chapel in the middle of their huts. Each saya, in fact, has its own chapel where it celebrates its /122/ ceremonies, the church located in the middle of the neutral zone being used only in the course of solemn festivals which bring together the whole tribe. No doubt we are dealing here with an ancient clan which has survived whereas, in the other saya, clan and "moiety" have merged.

342 343 Outside of the public buildings such as the chapels and the prison, the village is made up of dwelling houses with their immediate annexes: storehouses and small enclosures. The detailed description of the hut will be the subject of a special chapter. Right now it is enough to mention that the dwelling houses as well as those which serve as storehouses are cylindrical in form and are made of superimposed clods of earth crowned with a straw, dome-shaped roof (Pl. VI, B /see p. 0 /). In places the huts are 361 [363] grouped at random, but in a general way they are laid out in long, more or less parallel rows, with the spaces between them corresponding to streets. As all the houses open on the east, each row of houses faces a different street.

351 The huts belonging to a single household or to the same family are joined by small walls which form little enclosures used as woodhouses or poultry houses. A very low wall separates huts [171] [176] so joined from the next ones. The ground marked off in this manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

/123 cont./ Aside from one chapel
the only structure in Chipaya which does not have its door to the east is the prison, which faces the church so that the locked-up sinner may repent while contemplating the house of God. I remarked the identical preoccupation in several Aymara villages.

The Čipaya throw their excrement in the street and satisfy their needs practically everywhere. Thanks to the dryness of the air the village does not smell bad and is not dirty in appearance. In contrast in the rainy season it becomes difficult to get around in it. The Čipaya dig the clods of earth with which they build their houses in the middle of the village. These removals naturally create depressions filled with water which must be drained by small ditches. The canal in front of the saya tuanta overflows during this period and cuts off communication between the two districts.

The entry to the village is indicated by two pillars which stand on the road to Huachacalla.

In Chipaya the only public meeting places are the chapels and the church. Passing strangers are given lodging at the homes of the authorities.

The dwelling huts are not continually occupied by their owners. In fact each of them owns in addition to his domicile in the village one or several huts situated somewhere in the midst of the pastures. These "farms" are generally located near the floodlands, whence the name which the Čipaya give them: kˣas-kˣoya, "water houses," is derived. The Indians also designate each group of these huts and their annexes by the Spanish name estancias.

/124/ The water houses are either of the type in the village or entirely built of clods of earth in a conical form.

Sometimes these rural houses are grouped into modest hamlets, but they are most frequently isolated. There is a considerable number of them, and one finds them dispersed all around the village within a radius which varies from seven to ten kilometers.

/124 cont./

Social Organization

622 [616] Exercise of authority. Each saya is under the authority of an alcalde who exercises the functions of a justice of the peace. He intervenes in disputes, arrests and imprisons the guilty, and receives accusations. As we have just seen, the alcaldes preside at the division of arable land and are in addition responsible for directing work done in common, such as the upkeep of canals or the repairing of roads.

692 The corregidor represents the tribe before the government. The one for Chipaya, my friend Paulino Kondori, was so little convinced of the legitimacy of his office, very recently created, that he accompanied me on my return to be presented to the prefect of the department and to obtain from him permission to consider the territory of Chipaya an administrative district independent of Huachacalla. By one of those curious inconsistencies of the Indian character, he did not wait for me at Oruro, where he had preceded me, and I was not able to support his efforts to bring this administrative revolution to a successful conclusion. As long as his title has not been recognized by the government, the corregidor of Chipaya will continue to be subordinate to the one at Huachacalla. During my stay I had the chance to read the letters which his superior sent him and which were often conceived in a comminatory tone. I remember that once he was ordered to have his alcaldes arrest a recalcitrant debtor and another time to conduct to Huachacalla an Indian suspected, mistakenly moreover, of murder.

Paulino Kondori appeared to have some judiciary functions, for the Čipaya made allusion before me to "demandas," i.e. complaints which had been presented to him by Indians who had been injured or believed themselves to have been. It was to him that the Čipaya came to impart their misgivings about my unusual activities and my mysterious investigations. I was lodged in his [123] [341] own hut, which instead of being round like the others had a rectangular plan and a two-pitch roof. This form, seen in two or three

Carangas—
Chipaya

/124 cont./ This form, seen in Two or Three other houses of the village, was an indication that the owner had traveled and was sufficiently rich and a friend of progress to break with the traditional style and imitate the type of construction in use among the Aymara.

/125/ One of the principal prerogatives of Paulino Kondori, of which he was not a little proud, was to distribute passports to people of Salinas who were going to Chile. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to put his signature and his seal at the end of a paper whose text had been drawn up by those concerned themselves. His authority extended no farther. The Čipaya would have had difficulty finding an official to represent them who was more timid, more indecisive, and more limited. If their choice had fallen on him it was without doubt because of the prestige conferred on him by virtue of having been a former Bolivian soldier. The fact that he knew how to read and even to scribble a few sentences must also have contributed to his nomination. The alcaldes, in contrast, were more heavily charged individuals and gave evidence of a great deal of character and earnestness in carrying out their duties.

There must be a general assembly in Chipaya which meets to deal with questions of particular seriousness concerning the whole tribe. At least, this is what I was able to conclude from an incident which occurred during my stay. The territory of Chipaya, which extends to the north of the great Coipasa salt marshes, is regularly crossed by caravans of llamas going in search of salt or returning with their [illegible]. The Aymara Indians, encouraged by the timidity of the [illegible]a, let their animals graze on the lands belonging to the latter and irrigated by their efforts. The Čipaya decided to stop this abuse or at least to obtain grazing rights in compensation. The corregidor went to remonstrate with the drivers in the caravan and to demand payment from them of a sum that was, moreover, minimal. As the latter proved recalcitrant he called together the majority of the adult men of the village around his hut and they discu[illegible]d the question all night. The next day the Aymara traders came to pay up, some in money, some in kind.

2:Métraux--30 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935. 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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Chipaya

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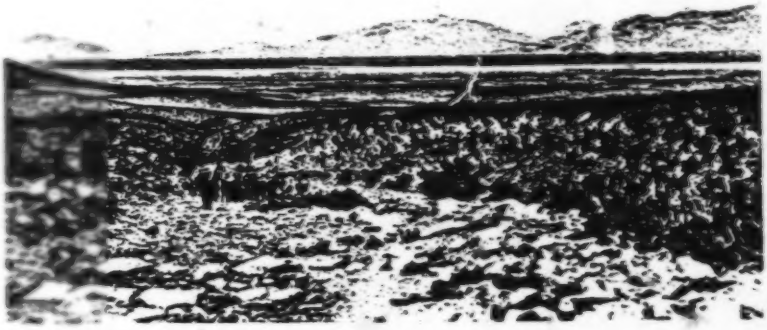
Plate VI



A. — The Carangas puna.

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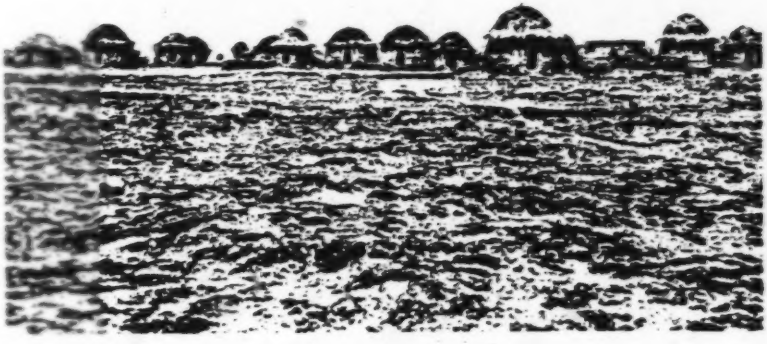

B. — Chipaya village: the western saya (taxata).

/381 cont./

[521] [621] At sunset taxata, tuanta, and warta, the three clans, fused together for the last time in a gigantic ring, led by all the musicians together. They kept revolving for a long time and dispersed at night in order to finish the last remnants of alcohol.

This festival is the last which they celebrate before Easter and the visit of their curé in June.

● 342 [476] Rites and practices observed during the building of a hut.

House-building with the Chipaya as with the Aymara is a collective undertaking. The future owner is helped in his work by the people of his family and by all his friends. At the moment [287] when the roof is covered with "linoleum," i.e., with the strange fabric made of straw and thin layers of clay which makes it impermeable, the master of the house has all who have helped him [273] [276] enter. The latter sit down /382/ in a circle and receive alcohol from their host and coca from his wife. They rest a few moments, drinking and chewing, and offering up libations accompanied by short prayers in which they ask the demons and the Earth-mother * [078] to watch over the new hut and its inhabitants. Before resuming work, they attach to the wall facing the entrance the sacred sticks (kallana-para) to which an offering of alcohol has been made.

[782] When the roofing is finished a sheep is slaughtered, and the master of the house sprinkles the wall near the door and the curves of the arches which support the ceiling with its blood. Afterward he organizes a large feast to prove his gratitude to the voluntary workers.

342 *078 [076] Protecting demons of the huts.

Each hut is under the protection of a mal'ku, i.e., of a demon or a spirit often mentioned in prayers by the name of patio mal'ku, either "spirit of the court" or, more exactly, of the space between the two small walls which enclose the group of huts belonging to each family. The guardian of the house may also be a wildcat (titi-mal'ku) or a bird of prey, a kite, or a stuffed falcon (mamani). Some huts among the Aymara of Carangas Province have a plant, generally a cactus, as a mal'ku.

/382 cont./

592 The number of spirits which rule over a household may be
342 even more considerable. In a prayer of Aymara origin which I
*998 recorded among the Čipaya, in the course of a sacrifice made to the demons of the house, the shed and the kitchen are invoked at the same time as the court.

342 Building a house gives rise to various ceremonies which re-
971 cur uniformly throughout the territory inhabited by the Aymara.
[982] There is no Čipaya hut on which one does not see to the left of the door upon entering the blackish spot of blood with which it was sprinkled after its erection. The inside of the roof also bears
[574] traces of bloody sprays. This sacrifice is followed by a feast, the costs of which are borne by the owner of the new dwelling, and to which he invites all those who, relatives or friends, have aided
342 him in the work of construction. The occasion is used to offer up
982 many libations and to ask, probably of the protecting spirits,
539 that "the straw (of the roof), that the house, that the hut for the kitchen be good, that it last for many years."

Ačokžal'a	kžoya	kamantaika	suma	haĭk	wata
Straw	house	kitchen for	good	many	year

awantil'a (1) kžoya-ki.
endure house this.

1. From the Spanish aguantar, "to endure."

[192] /383/ A beautiful example of the frightful jargon, a mixture of Čipaya, Aymara, and Kičua /Quechua/ words, which the Indians use in their conversations with the divinities.

*708 The titi-mal'ku is honored each time that an Indian returns
982 home to the village after a long stay in his "water house." As the
[221] number of titi-mal'ku in Chipaya is limited, I would not have

2:Métraux--133 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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Chipaya

Plate XII

*796
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● 342
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A. — Festival of Candlemas: libation to a banner.

142
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302
342
351
516

B. — Čipaya women feasting the day after a festival.

Schöpfung--137 E-5 (1830-1831) 1935, 1936 SP24 Uru SP24
Caranga-
Chipaya

Plate XVI

A. – Coca bag covered with a sort of "velvet" and used only during festivals.
B. – Festive sling.
C. – Wig worn by the men during festivals.
D. – Sacred stick (kamana-para).
E. – Rope cross hung on the roof of the huts.
F. – Perforated potsherds used as money during the festival of the alasita.

2:Mddrnus--139 E-6 (1890-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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Čipaya

/139/

Material Culture

Habitation

340 The habitation problem is one of the hardest that the Čipaya have had to resolve. Nature has refused them any natural shelter and all that seems absolutely indispensable for the construction of a dwelling: not one tree, not the shortest candle cactus on their bare plain, not even earth for adobes. Nothing but sand, and soil that grass roots make compact. Here again, however, human ingenuity has been able to conquer all obstacles and resolve all difficulties. In the same way that the Eskimos cut blocks out of the snow from which they make their round huts, the Čipaya cut clods out of the ground, which piled up on each other create huts of beehive form strangely similar to the "snow houses" of the Arctic peoples. As huts built entirely of clods (Pl. VI, C /see p. 215/) cannot attain any great size, the Čipaya prefer to build cylindrical houses (kˇoya), which they cover with a cupola of thatch. Aside from the roof, the principle of construction in these two types of habitation is the same.

341 The clods (ˇaya) are cut out of the ground by means of a hoe. As the stroke given with this instrument is oblique, the piece of detached earth, which is 70 cm. long, about 30 to 35 cm. wide, and 15 cm. thick, has the form of the trunk of a quadrangular pyramid or of the trunk of a parallelepiped rectangle. Half of the thickness is intermingled with roots which make a sort of very solid adobe of the clump. It is always used turned over, i.e., with the roots in the air.

/139/ The hut stands on a basement which protects it from floods. This platform is made of a series of clods juxtaposed flat or edgewise, which form the floor. After this the clods are simply superimposed without tying or mortar. The wall perfectly circular does not rise perpendicularly, but inclines gently from the base to

/156 cont./

342 the summit. This incline need only be accentuated to create the conical hut of the second type entirely made of clods.

The wall facings are plastered on the outside and inside with a thin layer of earth which conceals the irregularities of the surface.

The door. The opening (lan) of the door (čawks) which is always framed with a white band is generally larger below than above and its angles are rounded. It does not open at ground level but on a threshold about 30 centimeters high. The door itself is [335] situated inside the habitation. It is made of laths of Cereus joined by leather thongs and by crosspieces, and is articulated by means of two pivots, one of which, the upper one, is stuck into a piece of perforated wood (Fig. 1, C-D /see p. 142/).

419 191 Figure 1, E to G gives an idea of the ingenious peg lock of the Čipaya and its functioning. It is carved of Cereus wood and is of a type identical with that of the Aymara, who copied it from the old rural Spanish locks (1).

[113] 1. On this subject see Gennep (A. van). "Études d'ethnographie sud-américaine /Studies of South American Ethnography/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, New Series, Vol. XI, 1914, pp. 121-133.

342 335 The roof. The straw dome (p'urna) which covers the Čipaya huts of the first type is complicated and ingenious in construction and certainly represents the most delicate work which these natives undertake. When the walls of the hut are two meters above ground, two rows of clods larger than the others and with perpendicular joints are placed on top. The upper ones are provided with orifices intended to receive the ends of the arches which support the straw cupola. The framework of the latter is actually formed by faggots

[See pp 142-143--/nalyst]

Carangas—
Chipaya

/156 cont./ The framework of the latter is actually formed by faggots

of tola (ṭokua, ṭoxua) solidly bound into cylinders with straw ropes (xxaru) (Pl. VI, B /see p. 215/). They are thrust in the holes of which we have just spoken and then tied together (Fig. 1, H /see p. 142/). The number of arches which make up the skeleton of the roof is eight and they are arranged in two groups of four which are superimposed and are fastened at the intersections by solid ligatures. Up to the last moment the framework is held up by props of Cereus wood /157/ /Figure 1 appears here/ /158/ in order to allow the roofers to walk on the arches without making them fall in.

On this frame is spread a sort of linoleum (pirina) made of straw (p'it) stuck together with mud, the whole forming flexible plates which take the form of the frame. On top of this thin covering, the function of which is to make the roof impermeable, the straw is laid. The roofers receive large bunches of it which are hoisted up with rope. They spread it on the edge of the roof, where they trample it down by foot. These sheaves are then sewn on the faggots by means of a long wooden needle (ṭapa) threaded with straw cord (Fig. 1, A) and wielded by two workers, one inside the hut and the other outside. The needle, after having passed through the linoleum, goes around each of the faggots in turn and returns to encompass a new sheaf of straw. The remaining straw is arranged in successive layers, imbricated up to the summit. The adherence of this thatch to the roof and its resistance to the terrific gusts of wind on the altiplano is assured by means of a straw net which is made on the roof itself. The quadrangular or triangular mesh of this net are not exactly knotted but simply made by the intercrossing of a long straw cord which is tightened by traction carried out from below to above in pace with the formation of the net.

The roof is not considered finished until a straw cross surmounts it, which, according to native belief, protects the house from the effects of lightening.

Furnishings. The interior disposition of Cipaya huts is most summary. The only furniture of any importance is the earthen stove

[Text Continues on p. 143]

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Chijapa

/See captions on next page./

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Carangas--
Cipaya

Fig. 1. – Cipaya material culture. The habitation.

A: Needle with which the Cipaya sew the thatch to the frame.
B: Navel of clods of earth.
C: Door of cactus wood.
D: Detail of the door. a: top; b: bottom.
E: Cipaya lock and key.
F, G: The same lock seen in cross section.
H: Schema showing the method of constructing the framework of the cupola which covers the roof of the hut.

D-048:xxx--143 G-G (1930-1931) 1931. 1936 GP2a Ucu GP2d
Cayapa-
Chipaya

/139 cont./

Means of Subsistence

cattle raising. The Cipaya draw practically all their resources from stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in describing the environment /140/ where they live, the pastures which cover their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by means of arms from long canals, the waters of the Lauca River, which flows ten kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which sustains a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the plain into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 50 cm. in height. All along these mires and lagoons rise small huts shaped like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses of the second type (Fig. 1. B /see p. 142/). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for sows at kittening time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many wretched huts that border them which mirage enlarges and deforms often give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large industrial city.

The entire zone of pastures is strewn with enclosures (uyu) in which the sheep are penned at night. The mothers are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Cipaya build them anew each time that they leave a zone where the grass is exhausted to lead their sheep to graze in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are made of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Cipaya have their "water houses" (ʰPas-ʰPaya), or estancias (Pl. IV, A /see p. 213/) of which I have already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

/189 cont./

	Men	Women
Transport	+	+
Irrigation	+	-
Cultivation	+	-
Instrumental music	+	-
Basket-making	+	-
Crochet	+	-
Trade	+	+
Fishing	+	-
Bird hunting	+	-

Comparative Study

The comparative study which I am going to make of Uro-Čipaya objects and industries and those of ancient and modern Andean populations could not be exhaustive. I lack too many books to indicate the complete bibliography of the subjects with which I propose to deal, and I fear /190/ that for lack of material many parallels between certain forms of the material life of the Čipaya today and of the old Andean tribes may have escaped me.

Village and huts. I have already indicated the strange similarities which the ordering of the village of these Indians presents to that of an Inca city, Cuzco for example. The taxata and tuanta sayas have an exact equivalent in the Inca suyu, particularly in the two sectors or districts of Cuzco, hanan-suyu and hurin-suyu; as for the alignments of chapels or oratories, they are nothing more than Christianized zeques.

At the time of the Conquest and for a century afterward the Aymara lived in huts similar in every respect to those of the Čipaya with the exception of the chiefs who, like the present-day corregidor of the "canton" of Chipaya, lived in quadrangular houses. It is under Spanish influence that the Aymara hut evolved into its present aspect, which differs little from Creole houses. But even in our day

/190 cont./

the circular hut is not exclusively peculiar to Chipaya. Near Toledo at Kxulliri an agglomeration exists formed of perfectly round huts which from a distance recall those of the Čipaya although much larger. I stopped for a night in this village to study them, but unfortunately having used up my store of film I could not take photographs of them. These huts were architecturally much more perfected than those of Chipaya. The dome which surmounted them although covered with straw did not rest on a frame of tola but on a cupola made of 22 tiers of clods whose perfection I could admire. The clods that composed it were smaller than in Chipaya and fitted with more care. Given the width, the diameter of the hut, and its height, the erection of this roof must have demanded much time and not a little precision. When going through this village so like that of the Čipaya which I had just left, I though that I had discovered a new Uro tribe. My hypothesis was legitimate because the region which I was traversing had formerly been occupied by numerous ethnic islands of this race. I inquired among the inhabitants for the reasons which made them prefer the circular form of the huts to the rectangular plan adopted everywhere else in Aymara territory. They replied that they were obliged to build houses on this model because of lack of wood. The plain where the village of Kxulliri was standing does, in fact, very much recall in its bareness that of Chipaya. This is, I believe, the reason why the Čipaya also have kept the circular hut of their ancestors. To construct a house on a rectangular plan with a double-pitched roof, wood is necessary, /191/ at the very least laths of Cereus, and this cactus does not grow everywhere. The Aymara who have been fortunate enough to have this plant close to them have been able to change the type of their primitive habitation. The others, less favored by nature or too poor to buy the necessary wood, have remained, like it or not, more conservative. Midway between Oruro and La Paz when traveling by train, one sees some villages on the right where the huts are round and of an identical construction with those of Kxulliri. Besides this Forbes (1)

2:Métraux--185 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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Chipaya
Aymara SF5

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*171
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A
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[113]

/191 cont./

1. Forbes (David), "On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru," The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, London, New Series, Vol. II, 1870, p. 255.

in his classic monograph on the Aymara has left us an excellent description of the conical huts made entirely of stone which he encountered in his wanderings in Bolivia. The lines he devotes to them could be applied word for word to the "water houses" of the second type of the Čipaya Indians. "In the out-of-the-way places I observed circular or oval stone huts; such have been called beehive houses, the stones forming the roof and sides not being arched, but approaching one another little by little until they meet in the form of a dome; I found an excellent example of this construction, well and neatly put together, on the slope of the mountain of Illampu. This measured, internally, 9.5 feet long by 5 feet broad, and 5 feet in height; the door which was on the longer side of the oval was straight, 3 feet high and 18 inches broad; no chimney or other opening for smoke was visible." /Cited in English./ (2)

A
[113]

2. Nordenskiöld (Erland), "The Ethnography of South America seen from Mojos in Bolivia," Comparative ethnographical studies, 3, Göteborg, 1924, p. 19. He describes this form of hut among the Aymara of the region of Tunari near Cochabamba.

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554

In the entire village of Chipaya there are only five rectangular huts; they all belong to rich men who have traveled and have brought the cactus joists which support the roof from far away. The rectangular form is naturally considered chic, exactly as after the

Carangas - Chipaya

/191 cont./

342 [554] Conquest it was perfectly natural that the chiefs should be the first to adopt it. In my opinion it would be a mistake to see in the round hut of the Čipaya a culture trait which is characteristic of this ethnic group and capable of furnishing a clue to their origin. The modern Čipaya have retained the round hut solely because it was more practical and the only type which they could erect easily and without too much expense on the wretched plain where they are cantoned. If in place of tola they had had some other tougher shrub, their picturesque hovels would have given way to the dull sheds of the Aymara long ago.

*171 342 /192/ The Uro Indians of Ancoaqui build their huts on the model of those of the Aymara. Up to recent times they must have had to retain the circular hut, for I noticed two or three houses in their village which, without exactly being round, had at least considerably rounded corners. The wretched abodes to be seen among the Uro have exactly the same form as those of the Čipaya and, consequently, the second type of huts, i.e., those which are dispersed in the pastures. In contrast to the Aymara or Čipaya, the Uro cover their huts with totora mats, which they fasten with wooden pegs stuck in the walls.

Facing Ancoaqui on the other bank of the Desaguadero I saw several huts of a type new to me, one which I think has not yet been described. These are cubes with thick walls covered with a masonry dome, a middle term between pyramid and cupola. These huts were grouped exactly like the estancias of the Čipaya. They were, moreover, as it seemed to me, the dwellings of shepherds who certainly had a house in the village. The huts on the Desaguadero recall chullpas much more than do the Čipaya huts which have been compared with these funerary buildings.

*171 172 342 764 Whoever has traveled by mule on the altiplano and ascertained the fabulous number of chullpas left by the pre-Columbian inhabitants must have asked himself what befell the actual habitations where the Indians who are incarcerated in these strange sepulchers lived. It

/192 cont./

seems inexplicable that precisely the funerary houses would have survived, whereas the houses themselves have disappeared without leaving a trace. How could it happen that a people capable of building such remarkable and lasting buildings as the chullpas would not have left a single village behind? Chipaya gives us the key to the problem: the ancient Aymara huts were undoubtedly made of clods, a perishable substance which time has made disappear down to the last vestige. Although the Cipaya have occupied their present habitat since remote times, one cannot find any ancient ruin among them. It is enough that a hut be abandoned for there to be nothing left of it at the end of a few years.

One word more on the distribution of the round hut: this form was formerly much more widespread in the western part of South America than it is in our day. The Relaciones geográficas (1)

1. Xauxa Province, Vol. I, p. 89; Huamanga Province (San Juan de la Frontera), Vol. I, p. 97; Repartimiento /fief/ of Atunsora, Vol. I, p. 176; Collao, Vol. II, p. 62; Corregimiento /district/ of Otavalo (Equator), Vol. III, p. 116; District of Cuenca (Equator), Vol. III, pp. 164 and 176; Region of Quito, Vol. III, p. 94; Region of Chuquimayo, Vol. IV, p. LI; etc., etc.

makes allusions all the time to round houses in regions where they no longer exist.

/193/ The Quichua Indians of Cochabamba in the middle of the last century still had round huts made entirely of earth and stone with dome-shaped roofing. One of them has been reproduced and described by Herndon and Gibbon (1): "The ancient habitations

Carangas-
Chipaya
Manta SD10
Peruvian Indians SE3
Modern Quechua SE24

/193 cont./

way as to form a wall 1.40 to 1.80 meters high, circular in form, confining a space with a three to six meter diameter inside. On this wall 60 to 80 cm. thick a thatched roof rests, shaped into a more or less pointed cone. A small door 60 cm. wide and 80 cm. to 1.20 meters high allows one, stooping, to enter the hut."

The round hut seems formerly to have alternated with that of a quadrangular pattern in northern Peru. I am reproducing a passage from Olson's article (3), which lets us understand that the method

3. Olson (Ronald I.), "Old empires of the Andes," Natural History, New York, Vol. XXXI, 1931, No. 1, pp. 10-11.

of constructing these habitations was not very different from that which I described for Chipaya: "Certain villages are composed entirely of circular stone structures some ten to thirty feet in diameter with stone roofs of a corbelled dome type. Other villages show both round and square houses with similarly domed roofs. Since a domed stone roof is more in keeping with a circular than a square house, we may assume the former to be the earlier type." /Cited in English./

Mr. Otto Braun in a letter to Baron E. Nordenskiöld (3-VII-/194/ 1931) remarks that "although the huts of the Quichua of southeastern Bolivia have a square design, their barns or their granaries are always round in form."

For distribution of the round hut in South America I refer the reader to Nordenskiöld's map (1), while making the observation that

1. The Ethnography of South America seen from Mojos in Bolivia, Chapter 1.

it is incomplete.

2:Métraux--213 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

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342
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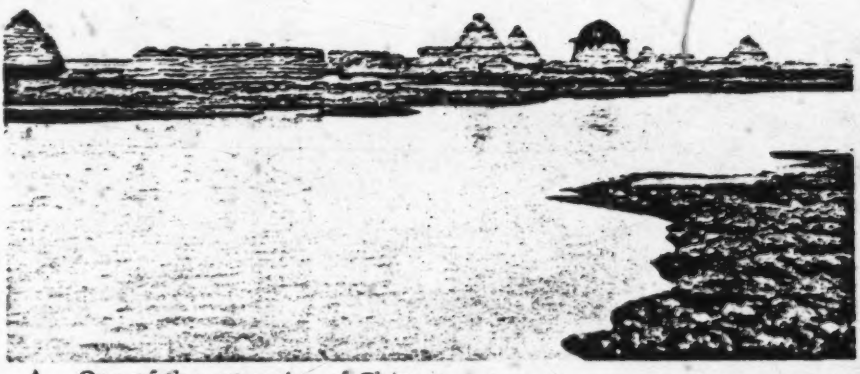
Plate IV



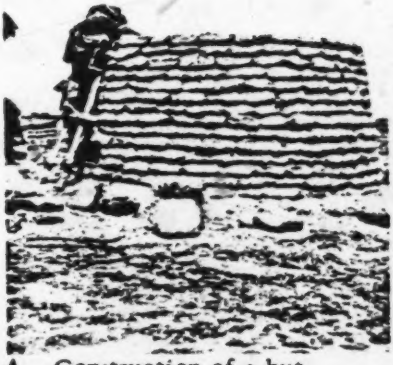
A. One of the estancias of Chipaya.

[346]

B. The little church of Chipaya, between the two "moieties."

2:Métraux--215 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya
Aymara SF5

Plate VI



A. Construction of a hut.

B. Construction of a hut: the faggots of tola are arranged in arches.

C. Čipaya hut made entirely of clods.

D. The Aymara church in Iscara (Carangas Province).

Plate II

342

3. A typical house in Iru-Itu in 1938.

342
356
415

4. The same house in 1942: the high roof of totoras shaped like a keel has collapsed and can no longer be repaired.

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

101 between ou and o /French sounds/; or else urito (ourito), an affectionate diminutive, or chana wawa, "younger children." But at the same time they give them the contemptuous name of hosle or huslé, "bastard," without father or master," or on the other hand the very respectful one of haké waka, "sacred men."

The fishermen of Lake Titicaca are called by the other natives uru, uro, kotá-haké ("men of the Lake"), uma-hake ("water men"), and chaika-uira ("fishermen") in Aymara; laguneros /"lake men", in Spanish; uru, uru-kuna ("Uru men"), cocha kuna ("men of the Lake"), kocha-la ("those who go on the lake"), in Quechua.

Documents of the Spanish Chroniclers

101 175 Morua (Fr. Martin de)

...but since the peoples of Peru are many, very different in appearance /forma/ and language, according to the bigness of the region and province, they did not all live in the same manner nor did they have the same customs, but in some parts some are very slow and dull, as in Collao and other areas; [131] [262] because some lived close to the great lake of Titicaca and subsisted on the totora and fish that were found in the lake, and these were called Uros, and their descendants exist today, and of the others, Collas and Puquinas, some of them or generally most raise livestock, and some live near the said 195 lake, intermixed with the said Uros; and these eat raw fish, [262] which they catch with rafts made of totoras; and they wore [501] clothes made of common reed-grass, which they reaped and [291] [294] cut on the lake shore and wove like mats, and with it they made a sort of jacket which they were accustomed to wear; [241] and they do not sow anything, nor do they trouble to make [342] houses, but they merely subsist on plants, although there also [222] exists among them a seed similar to mijo, which grows on

4:Vellard--4 D,E-4,5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[16th Century]

/31 cont./

175 They build their houses on the water on rafts of hay or rushes,
[342] which in Peru are called totora and in New Spain tule...."

...They subsist on the fish of the lakes, which is abundant,
[262] although not very good....They dress badly and eat, aside
[181] from fish, what they can steal from their neighbors on land;
they are crude and coarse and almost bestial people. They
[48] were not accustomed to pay tribute or service; and on a general
[65] visit that Don Francisco de Toledo made he had them entered
in a tax register and settled off the water, and thus they now
pay tribute and service and live under the Church and in some
order..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción del Reyno del Perú /Description of the Kingdom of Peru/..., 1597. Quoted by Victor M. Maurtua: Juicio de limites entre el Perú y Bolivia /Arbitration of boundaries between Peru and Bolivia/, Barcelona, 1906, I, 295-296.)

/32/ Herrera (Antonio de)

[824] ...in (this lake of Titicaca) there grow large quantities
of a reed which they call totora, which is fodder for horses and
pigs, and which the Uro Indians use to make houses and boats
[101] and for food, and whatever else they need. These Uros are so
wild, that when asked who they were, they replied that they
were not men, but Uros, as though they were another species
of animals..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y /General History of the Deeds of the Castilians in the Islands and/..., Madrid, 1601-1615, III, 5th decade, p. 92.)

Acosta (Father José de)

[133] Into this lake (Titicaca) flow ten voluminous rivers, it has
only one outlet and not a very large one, although it is said
to be extremely deep; over which it is not possible to build a
bridge, owing to the depth and breadth of the water, nor to
cross over in a boat, owing to the fierceness of the current,
according to what they say.

[16th - 17th Centuries]

/35 cont./

175 (Juan Alfonso Carrizo, Cancionero popular de Jujuy /Book of Popular Songs of Jujuy/, p. XV, Tucuman, 1935.)

/36/ Calancha (Father Antonio de la)

In his Cronica moralizada /Moral Chronicle/ of the order of St. Augustine, Father de la Calancha speaks at length and in several passages of the Uru.

[162] [181] In the Province of Paria which the illustrious benefactor Lorenço de Aldana gave us...; the largest number of Indians who inhabit it are Uro Indians, the most ignorant people of Peru, obscene and dark-skinned /renegrida/ they eat raw meat, lived on Lakes, and only like marshy country. The chief [103] pueblos in this Province are Paria or Challacollo. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Volume I, p. 353.)

[162] [197] [181] This pueblo (of Challacollo) had 2,400 tax-paying Indians who were being catechized by our Order.... These are crude Uro Indians, without breeding, dark-skinned /renegrida/, without cleanliness, enemies of social intercourse, and not at all [226] prone to the cult of our faith; for subsistence and gain they fish in the lake of Paria...those who live on land /do so/ in [342] sepultures underground owing to the cold, and when they live on the lake, their houses are on platforms and cattails...the [137] Uro Indians are born, grow up, and live on this lake over the water on the cattails, which here are called totorales, and which are very thick, and with this kind of light rushes, here [291] they live with no clothes or coverings (and this in a very cold [197] land) than some mats of these cattails.... Their language is the most obscure, disjointed, and crude of all in Peru, entirely guttural, and it cannot be written without great confusion. [103] [197] There is another pueblo that is called Capinota, and it is a Priory with a subsidiary church of Uro Indians called Charamoco where the teaching religious of Itapaya teaches since he is only one league away.... There is another pueblo four leagues

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

224 They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

233 **Herding.**—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the
231 swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

241 **Farming.**—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

252 **Food preparation.**—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white
[262] root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

273 Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

276 Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.
171

HOUSES

342 Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed
[284] vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over
[354] the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and
[392] makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The
[184] Sojopaca *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
342
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

[285]

[286]

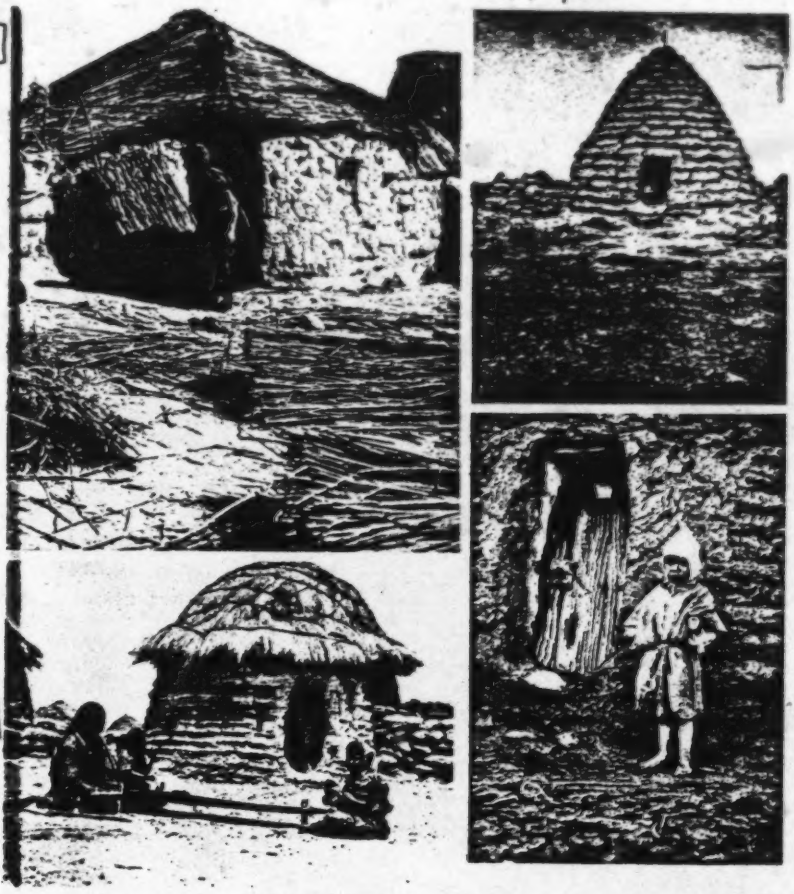


PLATE 113.—**Uru and Chipaya houses.** *Top (left): Uru* mat-covered house. *Top (right): Chipaya* sod house. *Bottom (left): Uru* house. Weavers in foreground. *Bottom (right):* Door of a *Chipaya* sod house. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-A]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya
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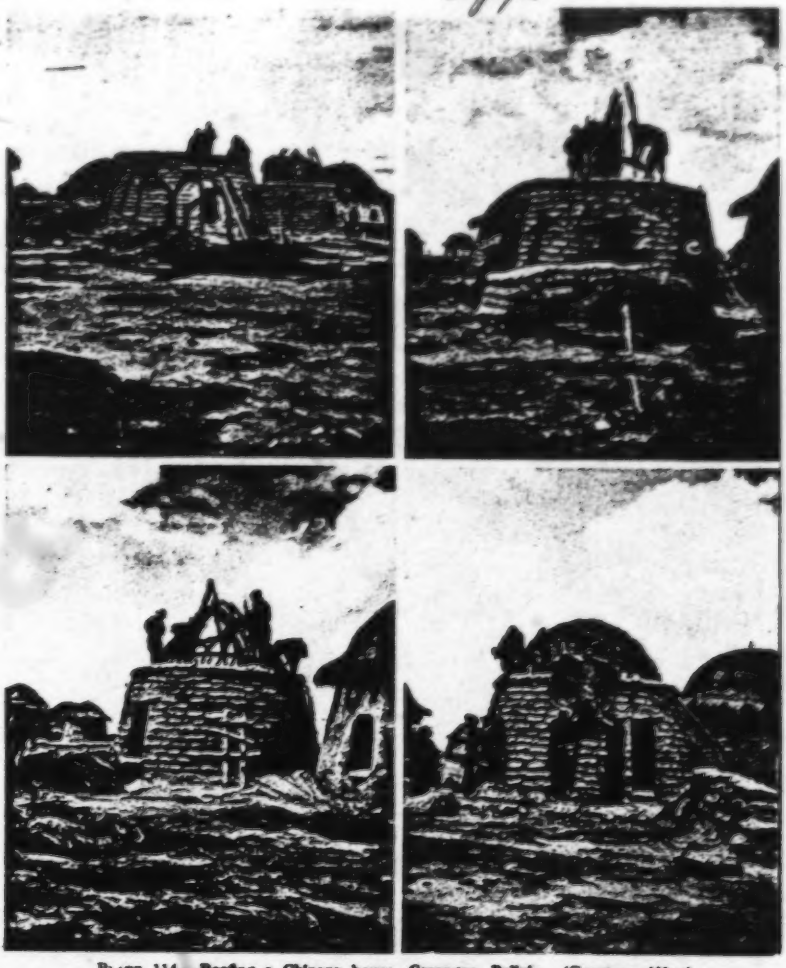

PLATE 114.—Roofing a Chipaya house, Carangas, Bolivia. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-B]

5 La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946

SF2 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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516

286
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516

PLATE 116.—Uru and Chipaya weaving and spinning. *Top: Uru* woman working at native loom. *Bottom (left): Chipaya* man at upright loom. *Bottom (right): Chipaya* woman spinning. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-D]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

[421]

[342]

PLATE 118.—Chipaya women. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[p. 582-F]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

paper. Llama foetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The maλku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of sod 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own maλku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety samiri are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant. The cult of the maλku and that of the samiri follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an alférez and his wife, who are the masters of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three animals on which the *Chipaya* depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a yatiri—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or samiri stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupulae and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulae are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (chicha, "sevarios," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupula is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the maλku, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candies are buried for Pachamama. Khoa, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the alférez and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

6: Ruiz and Rose Y-3 (ex.1966) 1967 SF34 Un: SF34
Chipaya

300
344
361
978

Población Chipaya del Altiplano boliviano.—*Foto Instituto Lingüístico de Verano de Bolivia.*

VOL. XVII | MEXICO, D. F., SEPTIEMBRE, 1957 | NUM. 3

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[title page]

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characteristic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara believes and rites, has been preserverd in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally

Group of Chipaya Indians.—*Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.*

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation

[English text continues on p. 219]

7:Ruiz Camacho J-3 (no date) 1960 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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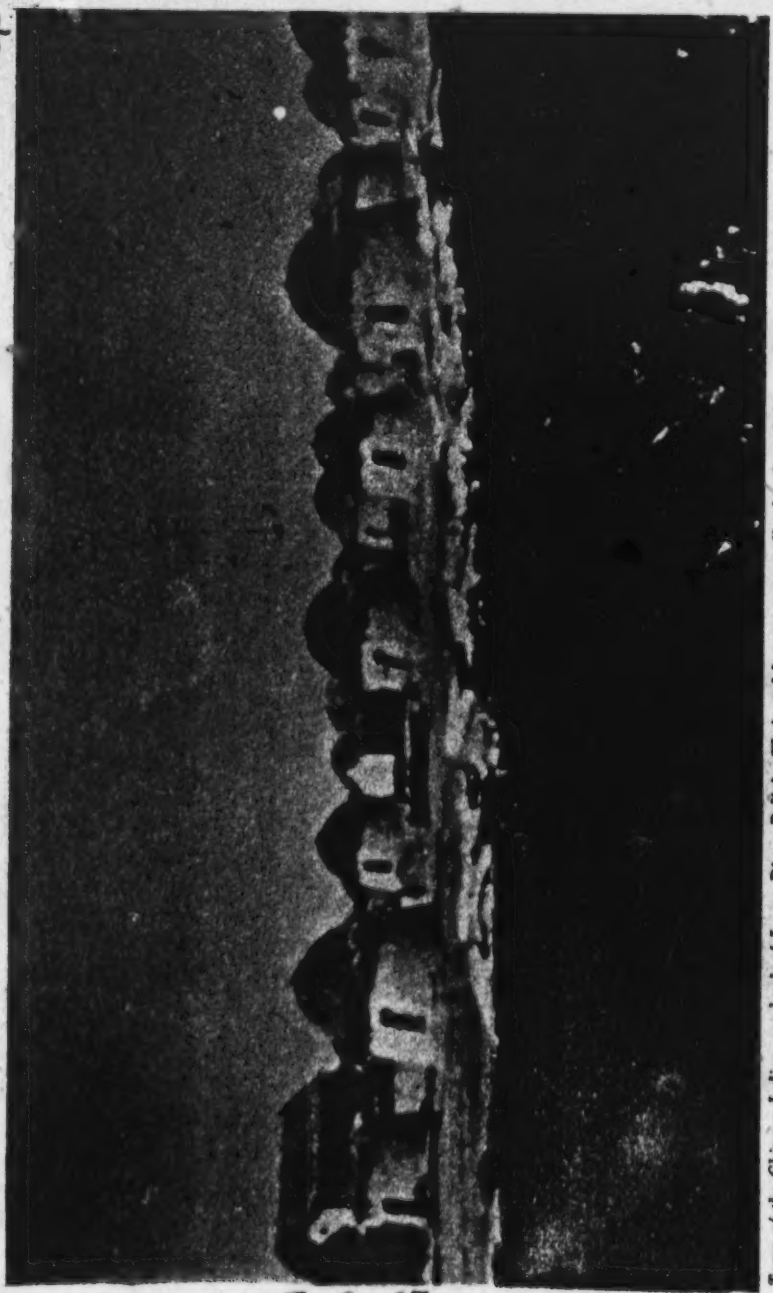


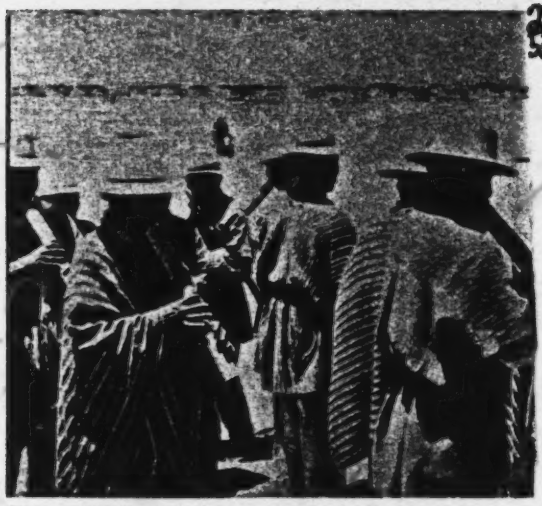
Town of the Chipaya Indians on bank of Lauca River, Bolivia. Their sod houses are usually thatch-roofed

[P.19-A]

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymaras haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes



Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into *chuño* flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year to the various families by the head of each moiety.

tains; and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as *Mallcu Mayor*. The other *mallcus* are represented by small conical sod towers scattered around the countryside. Sacred stone fetishes or *samiri* protect the prosperity of the village; in the homes, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; cheeses and other foods—symbolic of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating *yatiri*, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the *mallcu* cones and the *samiri* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land.

[P. 22-C]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

Fig. 8: An Uru house made of adobe and covered with rushes.

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9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

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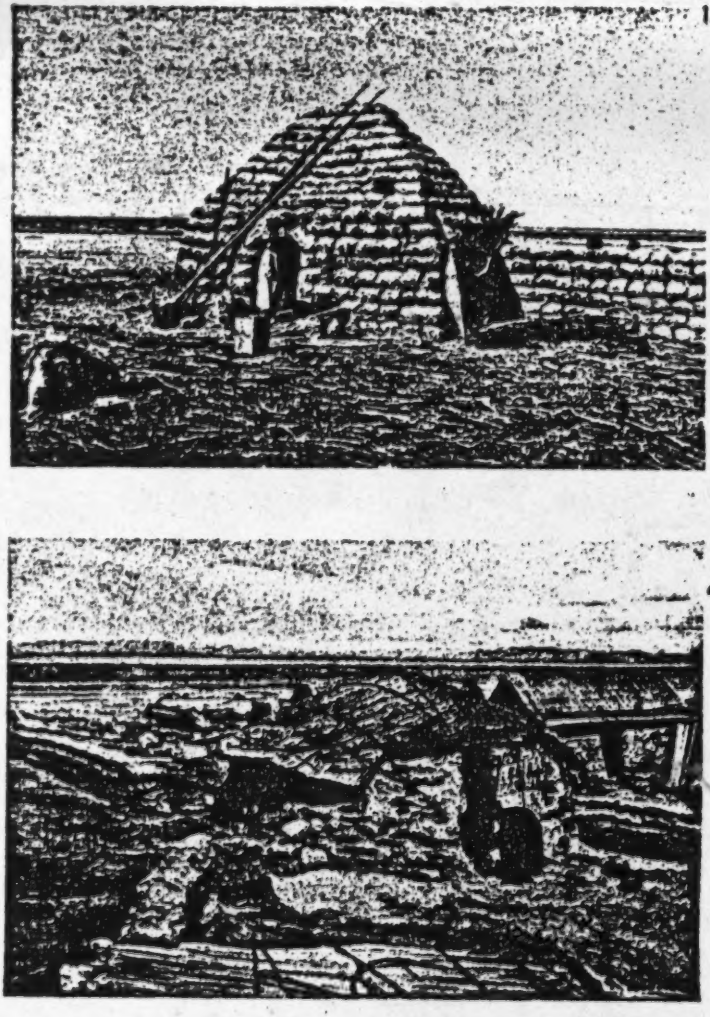

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FIG. 1. Uru houses. *Above*, hut with corbelled sod roof; note crude plow at right side of hut and balsa poles by door. *Below*, typical round Uru house with mat roof, Aymára style rectangular house to rear; Desaguadero swamps in the background.

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bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *ira* (Aymará *unku*), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have foot-looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, but only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (*makči*) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear this "camiseta" (Aymará *almiļa*), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tiahuanacu Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kulči*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *gorro* (Uru *škara*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *iktara*), complete the male costume. The belt called *časi* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*kutsi*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akso*), girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called *urku*, but clothing in general is called *skiti*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *čočo*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancoaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *ulpas* of Incasica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *totora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *totora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof

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(Aymára rectangular houses are *iču*-grass thatched, not matted in the Uru fashion). Possibly because of the scarcity of wood, "rafters" in the roof are made of thick bundles of reeds, the main supports laid east and west, with secondary supports arched north and south. Some of the round houses have a roof framework made of bent sticks laid at right angles and grass-rope lashed at their crossings. On this framework of wood or *totora*-bundles, large mats, employing the full lengths of these giant reeds, are laid in two sections, so that there is a sort of pseudo-ridge to the roof, running from over the door to the west wall; this ridge is made by the meeting of the butts of the reeds. Grass ropes are laid over these mats to hold them down in the wind, and tied to wooden pegs in the mud walls of the house. There is no smoke-hole save the door, so the roof mats become speedily coated with soot and are quite waterproof. One must stoop in entering the door, but a man can stand upright in the center of the house. A mud "stove" is placed to the right (north) of the door, in which *t'ola* (a kind of grease-brush), *yareta* (woody, turf-like masses of a semi-subterranean shrub), or *takia* (llama-dung) are burned for fuel, owing to the absence of wood in the region. The cord used on the roof-mats to twine the ends of the single reed elements, is true two-element twisted rope, the torque of the twisted strands of wiry grass holding the whole together. The rope used in binding *balsas*, on the other hand, is of tightly plaited grass, possibly because the more laboriously made plaited grass rope has greater strength and durability than the twisted kind.

Anciently, according to the 18th century writer Alcedo, the Uru lived in caves and holes in the ground, but they share the round type of house with their congeners the Chipaya. The same round house type is seen elsewhere scatteredly in the *altiplano*. Forbes noted "beehive" houses in out-of-the-way places, and in the 16th and 17th century descriptions such as that of Cobo are indications that the round hut was the original Aymára style. Métraux noted round mud houses with corbelled domes like those of the Chipaya, at Krulliri, near Toledo; and villages of round houses may be seen the west of the railroad halfway between La Paz and Oruro.[18]

[18] David Forbes, *On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru* (Journal Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 2: 193–305, 1870), p. 255. Posnansky, *op. cit.* p. 69, also says the Uru formerly lived in caves or holes dug in the ground, and roofed with mats. Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 4 vols. (Sevilla, 1895), Vol. 4: pp. 166–667. Métraux (JSAP 28: 190–194) says that the rectangular huts of the Aymára are built after Spanish patterns, and that only the chiefs at Chipaya used them, others building the older round type of house. The round style is useless, however, for tracing the provenience of the Uru: Braun noted Quechua storehouses of this kind in southwestern Bolivia, Nordenskiöld the same form among Aymára at Tunari, near Cochabamba (Otto Braun [Letter to Nordenskiöld in 1931]; Erland Nordenskiöld, *The*

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Another house type, beyond the rectangular-thatched and round-matted forms, is that to be found in several examples on the plain just to the north of Ancoaqui. These have a rectangular ground-plan, and instead of being thatched with grass or *totora*-mats, have a pyramidal "dome" corbelled of the same turfs that the walls are made. One of these photographed was on a slight artificial elevation, and had a shallow "moat" around it, possibly to provide dryness and drainage during the long rainy season. Another has two doors, both east and south, suggesting that shepherds might watch their llamas from these tiny huts, which are too small for family habitation; one of them has a chimney-hole in the roof.

Posnansky[19] says the Uru of Sojopaca built temporary shelters, apparently of mud, "like beavers," and figures a carefully domed *putuku* on the islet of Simillaque, as well as a round, stone-roofed house on the Isle of Panza. Uru round houses at Ancoaqui have vertical walls, but some of those of the Chipaya (Posnansky, Figs. 39 and 56) are battened inward, like truncated domes. On islands in the Desaguadero swamps I noticed temporary shelters of *totora* shaped like an old-fashioned straw beehive with a point, erected to shelter the *balsa*-builders.

Food. The Uru have repeatedly been referred to as being chiefly fishermen, but fish are by no means exclusively their diet. Their linguistic congeners to the south, the Chipaya, are chiefly pastoral, and the Uru likewise have pigs, donkeys, some few chickens, sheep, and cows, but no llamas or alpacas. Of the cows Métraux writes:

> those on the border of the Desaguadero [have] become amphibian. They pass the whole day in the water browsing on aquatic plants. From a distance one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan marsh.

These half-wild creatures are so "pastured" because of the acute lack of land among the Uru, whose agriculture,[20] for the same reason, is thus greatly circumscribed. The Uru have dogs, which they call *paku*. Like the Aymára, and most *altiplano* Indians, the Uru keep domesticated guinea-pigs in their houses. Pigs wander about the village also, but are sometimes placed in

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Ethnography of South America seen from the Mojos of Bolivia (Comparative Ethnographic Studies 3, Göteberg, 1924), p. 19; see also Bernabé Cobo, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Vol. 2: p. 62; Huaman Poma de Ayala, in Montell, *Dress and Ornaments*, p. 188, Fig. 86 (in Métraux *loc. cit.*).

[19] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 108 and Figures 104, 111.

[20] George McCutchen McBride, *The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia* (American Geographic Society, Research Series 5, New York, 1921), p. 18, says the Uru "form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them."

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FIG. 2. Uru woman of Ancoaqui, Rio Desaguadero, Bolivia. Note *tupo* or bodice-pin, Titicaca hair-style braidlet, door, pottery and thatching.